

Message Text

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SUBJECT: VICE PRESIDENT'S PAULSKIRCHE SPEECH

FOLLOWING ARE FULL TEXTS OF MAY 16 FRONT PAGE NEW STORIES

ON ABOVE SUBJECT BY MICHAEL GETLER IN WASHINGTON POST

AND CRAIG WHITNEY IN NEW YORK TIMES:

WASHINGTON POST: VICE

PRESIDENT NELSON ROCKEFELLER, SPEAKING HERE TODAY AT WEST GERMANY'S MOST PROMINENT CELEBRATION OF THE U.S. BICENTENNIAL, USED THE OCCASION TO DELIVER SOME OF THE HARSHTEST CRITICISM OF THE SOVIET UNION EVER TO COME FROM THE FORD WHITE HOUSE.

THE VICE PRESIDENT MADE NO MENTION OF THE WORD DETENTE, WHICH THE WHITE HOUSE HAS OFFICIALLY DROPPED, OR EVEN OF MR. FORD'S NEWLY PREFERRED DESCRIPTION OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AS AN ATTEMPT TO RELAX TENSION BETWEEN THE TWO POWER BLOCS.

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RATHER, HE TOLD SEVERAL HUNDRED PROMINENT WEST GERMAN AND AMERICAN GUESTS THAT "THE ERA OF OLD-WORLD IMPERIALIST EMPIRES HAS GONE AND YET WE FIND OURSELVES FACED WITH A NEW AND FAR MORE COMPLEX FORM OF IMPERIALISM, A MIXTURE

OF EZARISM AND MARXISM WITH COLONIAL APPENDAGES.

WHETHER WE LIKE IT OR NOT," ROCKEFELLER SAID, "A CONTINUING ATTEMPT IS UNDER WAY TO ORGANIZE THE WORLD INTO A NEW EMPIRE IN WHICH THE SOVIET SUN NEVER SETS. THIS NEW FORM OF IMPERIALISM - I KNOW OF NO BETTER WAY TO DESCRIBE IT - INVOLVES IDEOLOGICAL, DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, SUBVERSIVE AND MILITARY STRUCTURES AND RELATIONS IMPORTANTLY DOMINATED FROM MOSCOW."

THE VICE PRESIDENT SPOKE OF THE "SOVIET EXPANSIONIST THRUST," OF THE DANGER OF BEING" OVERRUN OR ENGULFED BY SOVIET OR ANY OTHER IMPERIALISM" AND THE NEED FOR A "POSITIVE AND FAR CLOSER PARTNERSHIP OF INDEPENDENT NATIONS" TO COUNTER THIS SOVIET THRUST. AT ANOTHER POINT HE SAID THE GROWTH OF THE SOVIET NAVY WAS CHALLENGING FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND THAT "THE TIME WAS AT HAND TO GREATLY ACCELERATE THE REBUILDING OF THE FREE WORLD'S NAVAL POWER."

THE VICE PRESIDENT'S 40-MINUTE ADDRESS COVERED SEVERAL OTHER SUBJECTS, BUT HIS REMARKS ON THE SOVIETS TENDED TO DOMINATE HIS SPEECH AND TO SURPRISE MANY GUESTS.

ONE TOP WEST GERMAN OFFICIAL SAID HE VIEWED ROCKEFELLER'S COMMENTS AS UNEXPECTED AT A BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION BUT AS PART OF THE U.S. POLITICAL CAMPAIGN IN WHICH MR. FORD HAS BEEN DRAWN FURTHER TO THE RIGHT TO COMBAT THE CHALLENGE OF FORMER CALIFORNIA GOV. RONALD REAGAN. ONE AMERICAN OFFICIAL HOWEVER, SAW THE SHARP ATTACK ON THE SOVIETS AS INDICATING WHAT WAS ACTUALLY HAPPENING TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, IN PART BECAUSE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

IN CONTRAST TO ROCKEFELLER, WEST GERMANY'S CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT DELIVERED AN ADDRESS THAT DEALT ONLY IN SMALL MEASURE WITH EAST-WEST RELATIONS.
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BUT THE CHANCELLOR - WHO IS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SOURING IMAGE OF DETENTE - DIPLOMATICALLY USED MR. FORD'S OWN LANGUAGE TO WARN THAT "A POLICY OF RELAXATION OF TENSIONS" WAS NEEDED AS ONE FACTOR TO SECURE FREEDOM.

ROCKEFELLER'S FAILURE TO TALK EVEN OF A RELAXATION OF WHAT TENSION COMES ON THE HEELS OF REPORTS FROM BRUSSELS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, SCHEDULED TO MEET IN OSLO NEXT WEEK, ARE ALSO PREPARING A STERN WARNING TO THE SOVIETS REGARDING A BUILD-UP OF MILITARY FORCES.

SCHMIDT AND ROCKEFELLER SPOKE HERE AT THE HISTORIC PAULSKIRCHE - ST. PAUL'S CHURCH - THE SCENE IN 1848 OF

GERMANY'S FIRST PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY THAT ATTEMPTED, UNSUCCESSFULLY, TO GIVE THIS COUNTRY A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION. THAT PARLIAMENT HAD PLANNED TO USE THE U.S. CONSTITUTION AS A MODEL.

SCHMIDT, IN A WELL-RECEIVED SPEECH THAT WAS BOTH CANDID AND ENCOURAGING, SAID THAT THE 1848 ATTEMPT "WAS ONLY AN EPISODE. WE GERMANS WERE STRONGER ON IDEALISM AND WEAKER IN PRACTICE, A QUALITY THAT WE SUFFER OFTEN ENOUGH FROM TODAY," HE SAID WRYLY.

SCHMIDT SAID THAT AMERICAN LEADERSHIP WAS VITAL TO A STABILIZED ATLANTIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICY, AND THAT AMERICA "DESPITE SELF-CRITICISM, SHOULD NOT DOUBT ITSELF, SHOULD NOT DESPAIR. FOR THE GERMAN NATION, YOUR VITALITY, CREATIVITY AND PRODUCTIVITY IS A SOURCE OF GREAT TRUST."

AS FOR WEST GERMANY, SCHMIDT SAID IT WOULD PLAY ITS ROLE BUT IT WAS "A MEDIUM-SIZED NATION." DESPITE HIS NATION'S POSITION AS AN ECONOMIC POWER AND SCHMIDT'S LEADERSHIP IMAGE IN EUROPE, SCHMIDT CONTINUALLY TRIES TO PLAY DOWN THE IDEA THAT GERMANY WILL ONCE AGAIN LEAD EUROPE.

FRANKFURT HAS BEEN TENSE FOR DAYS AWAITING THIS CEREMONY, UNCLASSIFIED

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WITH POLICE BRACED FOR TERRORIST DEMONSTRATIONS AFTER THE SUICIDE LAST WEEK NEAR STUTTGART OF ULRIKE MEINHOF, THE ALLEGED CO-FOUNDER OF THE BAADER-MEINHOF TERRORIST GANG.

MEINHOF WAS BURIED TODAY IN WEST BERLIN AND A CROWD OF 4,000 SYMPATHIZERS WERE ON HAND.

A FEW ARRESTS WERE MADE IN FRANKFURT YESTERDAY, AND A FAKE BOMB WAS FOUND NEAR THE CHURCH. BUT TODAY'S CEREMONIES WENT OFF WITHOUT INCIDENT.

NEW YORK TIMES: IN AN OUTPOURING OF GRATITUDE, PRIDE IN ITS OWN DEMOCRACY, AND SIMPLE CURIOSITY, WEST GERMANY IS CELEBRATING THE BICENTENNIAL OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ALMOST AS IF IT WERE ITS OWN.

A SOLEMN CEREMONY IN THE RED SANDSTONE PAULSKIRCHE, THE CHURCH WHERE GERMAN DEMOCRACY BRIEFLY EMERGED IN A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN 1848-49, WAS THE OFFICIAL HIGH POINT TODAY. A THOUSAND MEMBERS OF THE WEST GERMAN POLITICAL, BUSINESS AND CULTURAL ELITE MET UNDER ITS LOFTY DOME TO EXPRESS THEIR GRATITUDE TO AMERICA FOR HELPING TO BRING DEMOCRACY AT LAST, AFTER 1946.

VICE PRESIDENT ROCKEFELLER, HIMSELF OF GERMAN ANCESTRY, ACCEPTED WITH A SPEECH ABOUT THE COMMON BONDS OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND POLITICAL LIBERTY.

"WE MUST STOP APOLOGIZING FOR OUR ENTERPRISE SYSTEM WITH ITS FREE LABOR MOVEMENT AND ITS INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITIES," MR. ROCKEFELLER SAID.

CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT COMMENTED: "AMERICA DOES NOT NEED TO DOUBT ITSELF."

IN HIS SPEECH MR. ROCKEFELLER ATTACKED THE SOVIET UNION, SAYING: "A CONTINUING ATTEMPT IS UNDER WAY TO ORGANIZE THE WORLD INTO A NEW EMPIRE IN WHICH THE SOVIET SUN NEVER SETS."

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IN ABOUT 4,000 EVENTS COMMEMORATING THE BICENTENNIAL THE WEST GERMANS ARE SHOWING AWARENESS OF THE PAIN AND CONTRADICTION IN THE AMERICAN-GERMAN RELATIONSHIP AS WELL AS CELEBRATING ITS PRESENT STRENGTH.

AMONG THE DARK-SUITED HONORED GUESTS IN THE CHURCH TODAY WAS GEN. HANS SPEIDEL, WHO HEADED ROMMEL'S STAFF IN THE GERMAN WEHRMACHT IN WORLD WAR II AND LATER BECAME A HIGH OFFICIAL OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION. JOHN J. MCCLOY, WHO PRESIDED OVER THE REBUILDING OF WEST GERMANY AS UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER AFTER THE WAR, ROSE TO VIGOROUS APPLAUSE.

BUT INTEREST IN THE BICENTENNIAL IS NOT CONFINED TO SUCH GATHERINGS OF THE NOW HIGH AND THE ONCE MIGHTY, WHO MET BEHIND HEAVY POLICE BARRICADES IN FRANKFURT TODAY BECAUSE OF POSSIBLE ANTI-AMERICAN RIOTS.

IN BONN, EDITH SHAFER-HARTLEIN, A POLICEWOMAN, STOPPED AT THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY THE OTHER DAY TO APPLY FOR A TOURIST VISA, SOMETHING WHICH 106,000 OTHER WEST GERMANS HAVE DONE SO FAR THIS YEAR, MORE THAN EVER BEFORE. SHE IS NOT GOING NECESSAIRLY OUT OF LOVE FOR THE NEW WORLD, BUT SAID: "IT'S SIMPLY A COUNTRY ONE HAS TO SEE. I HAVE NO IDEA WHAT IT IS LIKE,NO PICTURE IN MY MIND OF WHAT IT IS, BUT THIS SEEMED A GOOD YEAR TO GO."

MR. ROCKEFELLER MENTIONED TODAY THAT HIS FORBEARS EMIGRATED FROM ROCKENFELD, NEAR THE CITY OF NEUWIED ON THE RHINE NEAR KOBLENZ, IN 1723. THERE ARE STILL SOME 200 ROCKENFELLERS IN NEUWIED AND THEY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO LURE THEIR DISTANT COUSIN BACK FOR A VISIT, SO FAR IN VAIN.

A 43-YEAR OLD FARMER AND MEMBER OF THE CLAN, KURT ROCK-

ENFELLER, CAME IN FROM THE FIELD YESTERDAY AND SAID THAT HE HAD NEVER SEEN SO MUCH AS A LETTER FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT. "AND IF HE'S EVER SENT ANY MONEY BACK," MR. ROCKENFELLER SAID, "I NEVER GOT ANY OF IT."

THAT VENERABLE GERMAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTION, "AS PUBLICITY STUNT," HAS NEVER KNOWN BETTER DAYS. IN THE WINE-GROWING UNCLASSIFIED

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RHINE VILLAGE OF INGELHEIM, FRANCOIS LACHENAL IS COOKING UP "INGELBURGERS" IN HONOR OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. THE BUSINESSMEN AND FINANCIERS OF DUSSELDORF WILL PUT ON A RODEO FROM JUNE 11 TO 13. AN UNNAMED WEST GERMAN BREWERY IS SAID TO HAVE BOTTLED "BICENTENNIAL BEER," USING METHODS THAT ARE HARDLY REVOLUTIONARY.

IN ALL, THE WEST GERMANS HAVE SPENT \$10 MILLION ON BICENTENNIAL PARTIES, BALLS, EXHIBITIONS AND SPECIAL MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENTS, ACCORDING TO ALEXANDER A. KLIEFORTH OF THE UNITED STATES EMBASSY.

WHY DO THEY DO IT? AN OFFICIAL OF THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS SPENT \$3-MILLION OF THE TOTAL, SAID THAT IT WAS PARTLY "TO IMPROVE OUR IMAGE IN THE UNITED STATES - IT'S STILL PRETTY BAD AFTER 30 YEARS."

ONE OF THE REASONS WHY ONE OUT OF EVERY SIX AMERICANS IS OF GERMAN ANCESTRY IS THAT SIX MILLION GERMANS LEFT THEIR COUNTRY FOR AMERICA BEFORE 1945, FLEEING PRUSSIAN AUTHORITARIANISM, OPPRESSIVE POVERTY, AND FINALLY HITLER'S NAZI DICTATORSHIP. "A SHAMING CHAPTER," MR. SCHMIDT SAID TODAY, HADDING: "THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF HUMAN DIGNITY SHOULD NOT BECOME A MERE CLICHE, NOR INCENSE FOR SOLEMN CEREMONIES."

THERE HAS BEEN AN AMBIGUOUS TENSION IN GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS SINCE THE BEGINNING. WHILE FRIEDRICH WILHELM VON STEUBEN WAS HELPING GEORGE WASHINGTON ORGANIZE HIS REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, 29,875 "HESSIANS" WERE FIGHTING ON THE OTHER SIDE IN THE PAY OF GEORGE III.

AFTER 1783, MANY OF THEM STAYED BEHIND, AND AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE 1848 REVOLUTION IN THE PAULSKIRCHE - PRUSSIAN TROOPS CHASED THE DELEGATES TO STUTTGART AFTER KING FRIEDRICH WILHELM IV REFUSED ITS PLAN FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY - HUNDREDS OF GERMAN DEMOCRATS FLED TO THE UNITED STATES.

AMONG THEM WAS CARL SCHURZ, WHO WAS LATER A GENERAL IN THE UNION ARMY IN THE CIVIL WAR AND AFTERWARD BECAME SECRETARY UNCLASSIFIED

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OF THE INTERIOR.

THE PORT CITIES OF HAMBURG AND BREMEN FLOURISHED IN THE
TRANS-ATLANTIC PASSENGER TRAFFIC AND BY 1910 THERE WERE
8,000,000 GERMAN-AMERICANS. SOON AFTER THAT, THE UNITED
STATES JOINED THE WAR AGAINST THE "HUN" AND CULTURAL
TIES SUDDENLY MEANT LITTLE - GERMAN WAS EVEN BANISHED
FROM MANY AMERICAN CURRICULUMS. THE FINAL IRONY, POSSIBLY,
WAS THAT WORLD WAR II AMERICAN BOMBERS DESTROYED THE
PAULSKIRCHE, IN 1944. KISSINGER

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